

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 270910Z JAN 78
FM AHEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6641
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
USMISSION USUN NY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0110

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, MZ, RH
SUBJECT: EMBASSY ANALYSIS OF MACHEL'S POSITION ON ANGLO-AMERICAN
PROPOSAL

1. SUMMARY. WHILE MACHEL IS UNHAPPY WITH SOME ASPECTS OF THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL, BELIEVE HE MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO ACCEPT
PROPOSAL MORE OR LESS IN ITS PRESENT FORM AS BASIS FOR FINAL
SETTLEMENT, PROVIDED HE (AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT) CAN BE
SATISFIED ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGMENTS. MACHEL'S ATTITUDE IS
INFLUENCED BY: RHODESIAN MILITARY DOMINATION, CONTINUED DISHARMONY
WITHIN PATRIOTIC FRONT, SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT HOME,
AND CONCERN ABOUT CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. RECENT
DISCUSSIONS WITH LORD CARVER HAVE MADE MOZAMBICANS LESS HESITANT
ABOUT COOPERATING WITH US. MACHEL HAS ALREADY HELPED US BY
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SEEKING TO PERSUADE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO MAKE STATEMENT ON ELEC-
TIONS AND TO ACCEPT INVITATION FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN TO TALK
SERIOUSLY ABOUT THE PROPOSAL. WE BELIEVE HE WILL ALSO TRY TO CON-
VINCE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON IMPORTANCE OF A UN FORCE, ABOUT WHICH
PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS RESERVATIONS. WHETHER HE WILL BE OF ANY MORE
HELP WILL DEPEND ON OUTCOME OF MALTA TALKS. TO ENHANCE CHANCES OF
MOZAMBICAN COOPERATION, BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONFIDE IN

MACHEL THAT WE ARE CONSIDERING SOME FORM OF OIL SANCTION IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ACCEPTS OUR PROPOSAL AND SMITH REJECTS IT. THIS WOULD SHOW THAT THERE ARE TANGIBLE ADVANTAGES TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONT LINE STATES FROM COOPERATING WITH US EVEN IF MEASURES WE ARE CONTEMPLATING MAY NOT ASSURE SMITH'S REMOVAL.
END SUMMARY.

2. WITH TALKS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT SCHEDULED FOR MALTA ON JANUARY 30, BELIEVE IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO REVIEW MACHEL'S ATTITUDE TOWARD UK/US INITIATIVES IN RHODESIA AND TO ASSESS PROSPECTS FOR MOZAMBIKAN COOPERATION.

3. MACHEL'S CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARD UK/US INITIATIVES. MACHEL DELIBERATELY KEPT HIS DISTANCE FROM THE 1976 UK/US RHODESIAN INITIATIVE. HE THOUGHT WE WERE MORE INTERESTED IN PROTECTING OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND OPPOSING COMMUNISM THAN IN MAJORITY RULE. HE SUSPECTED WE WERE SECRETLY PROMOTING NKOMO, AND THEN MUZOREWA. SEEING MILITARY VICTORY AROUND THE CORNER, MACHEL HAD LITTLE INCENTIVE FOR SUPPORTING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. NOW, PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF OUR PROPOSAL AND HIS INVITATION TO LORD CARVER FOR THREE DAYS OF SERIOUS TALKS INDICATE HE IS NO LONGER RELUCTANT TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH OUR INITIATIVE AND TO BE SEEN TO COOPERATE (TO SOME EXTENT) WITH IT. THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE.

4. REASONS FOR CHANGED ATTITUDE:
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A THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS GOING POORLY AND A TURNABOUT IN THE MILITARY FORTUNES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS NOT LIKELY TO BE REALIZED SOON. MOREOVER, THE WEAKNESS OF MOZAMBIQUE'S DEFENSES HAS BEEN EXPOSED BY THE RHODESIAN BORDER RAIDS.

- MACHEL IS DISILLUSIONED BY DISHARMONY AND SQUABBLING WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND WITHIN ZANU ITSELF. REPEATED EFFORTS OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS TO ESTABLISH A UNIFIED LIBERATION ARMY AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED AND SHOW LITTLE PROMISE OF SUCCESS.

- MOZAMBIQUE HAS SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH IT MUST ATTEND TO. MACHEL WOULD LIKE A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA TO HELP GET HIS ECONOMY GOING AGAIN.

-. MACHEL BELIEVES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS DOING WHAT IT CAN TO ACHIEVE A JUST SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. HE DID NOT HAVE THIS CONFIDENCE IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION OR SECRETARY KISSINGER.

- MACHEL ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE UK/US INITIATIVE IS A FORM OF

PRESSURE ON SMITH AND CONTRIBUTES TO THE ISOLATION OF SMITH AND A WEAKENING OF SMITH'S RESOLVE. EARLIER MACHEL THOUGHT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD WORK TO SMITH'S ADVANTAGE.

- FINALLY, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL LOOKS MUCH BETTER IN COMPARISON WITH SMITH'S INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, WHICH MACHEL FEARS WILL PROLONG THE FIGHTING.

5. CHANGES IN U.S. EXPECTATIONS. WHEN UNDERTAKING OUR INITIATIVE ON RHODESIA TWO YEARS AGO WE ASSUMED THAT THE BEST WE COULD HOPE FOR FROM MACHEL WAS THAT HE WOULD NOT WORK ACTIVELY OR OPENLY AGAINST OUR INITIATIVE. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT HE DID. TODAY WE CAN HOPE FOR MORE. SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE UK WHITE PAPER IN SEPTEMBER, MACHEL HAS INTERVENED TWICE WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT
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TO OUR BENEFIT. IN DECEMBER, MACHEL TALKED PRIVATELY WITH MUGABE AND NKOMO AND URGED THEM TO STATE PUBLICLY THEIR SUPPORT FOR ELECTIONS IN RHODESIA. THE SECOND OCCASION WAS DURING THE CARVER VISIT, WHEN MACHEL OFFERED TO TRY TO PERSUADE MUGABE AND NKOMO TO ENTER INTO SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UK ON THE PROPOSAL.

6. PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE MOZAMBIKAN HELP WITH THE PATRIOTIC

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O R 270910Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6642
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0110

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FRONT. HOW MUCH ADDITIONAL HELP. IF ANY, MAY WE EXPECT FROM MACHEL? THIS IS HARD TO SAY. CERTAINLY, ON THOSE POINTS ON WHICH WE AND THE MOZAMBICIANS ARE AGREED, AS FOR EXAMPLE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A UN FORCE, THE MOZAMBICANS ARE LIKELY TO LOBBY WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT EVEN WITHOUT OUR URGING. THE VISIT OF LORD CARVER--AND THE PATIENT AND PATIENT AND EFFECTIVE WAY THE PARTY HANDLED THE DISCUSSIONS IN MAPUTO--SEEMS TO HAVE CONVINCED THE MOZAMBICANS THAT THEY (AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT) HAVE SOMETHING TO GAIN FROM TAKING A MORE ACTIVE AND POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PROPOSAL. AT LEAST WE PERCEIVE A DISPOSITION TO BE HELPFUL.

7. NO DOUBT THE MOZAMBICANS WILL AWIT THE OUTCOME OF THE MALTA TALKS BEFORE COMMITTING THEMSELVES. AMONG
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OTHER THINGS THEY WILL BE LOOKING TO SEE TO WHAT EXTENT CONCERNS THEY EXPRESSED TO LORD CARVER HAVE BEEN ACCOMODATED IN OUR PROPOSALS. THE MOZAMBIVAINS WILL BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN WHAT ROLE THE ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST LEADERS ARE TO PLAY DURING THE TRANSITION. THE MOZAMBICANS ARGUED THAT THE ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST LEADERS SHOULD BE VISIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION SO AS TO FURNISH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WITH THE "MORAL AUTHORITY" NECESSARY TO AN ORDERLY TRANSITION AND TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE THAT POWER HAS IN FACT PASSED FROM THE SMITH REGIME. THE CREATION OF A TRANSITIONAL COUNCIL AND OF MILITARY COMMITTEES, AMONG WHOM WOULD BE INCLUDED PATRIOTIC FRONT MILITARY COMMANDERS, WILL GO PART WAY TO MEET MOZAMBICAN EXPECTATIONS. AGREEMENT TO INCLUDE MOZAMBICAN PERSONNEL ON THE UN STAFF WOULD ALSO BE SEEN AS EVIDENCE OF RESPONSIVENESS TO MOZAMBICAN SUGGESTIONS.

8. LIMITATIONS ON MOZAMBICAN HELP. WE DOUBT MACHEL WILL BE MUCH IF ANY HELP TO US ON MATTERS RELATING TO THE ORGANIZATION OF POST INDEPENDENCE ZIMBABWE. NOT ONLY HAD MACHEL LONG TAKEN THE POSITION THAT THESE ARE MATTERS THAT MUST BE LEFT TO THE ZIMBABWEANS, BUT WE KNOW FROM OUR RECENT DISCUSSIONS THAT THE MOZAMBICANS ARE VERY CRITICAL OF THE INCLUSION IN OUR PROPOSAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES

FOR WHITES. THE MOZAMBICANS HAVE URGED US TO LOOK FOR A
WAT TO REASSURE THE WHITES OTHER THAN BY EMBEDDING "RACISTS"
GUARANTEES IN THE CONSTITUTION.

9. TO ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR MOZAMBICAN COOPERATION,
WE BELIVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONFIDE IN MACHEL WHAT
ACTIONS WE ARE THINKING TAKING AGAINST SMITH IF THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT COOPERATES WITH US AND SMITH DOES NOT.
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THE THE MOZAMBICANS SOUGHT SUCH INFORMATION WHEN LORD CARVER
WAS HERE, BUT WITHOUT SUCESS. THE EMBASSY APPRECIATES
WHY WE WERE NOT MRORE FORTHCOMING. HOWEVER, WE SEE
LITTLE HARM, AND CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGE, IN AT LEAST
ACKNOWLEDGING TO MACHEL THAT WE ARE CONSIDERING SOME
FORM OF OIL SANCTIONS. MACHEL HAS ALREADY HEARD FROM
NYERERE AND OTHERS THAT THIS IS ONE OF THE OPTIONS WE
HAVE UNDER CONDISERATION. SINCE MUCH OF SOUTH AFRICA'S
PETROLEUM FOR THE NORTHERN TRANSVALL TRANSITS THROUGHT
MOZAMBIQUE MACHEL HAS A DIRECT INTEREST IN OIL SANCTIONS.
PSYCHOLOGICALLY, IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT MACHEL BELIEVE
WE ARE CONFIDING IN HIM AS MUCH AS WE ARE HIS FRONT LINE
COLLEAGUES.

10. IF AN WHEN WE DO DECIDE TO TALK TO MACHEL ABOUT
MEASURES WE ARE CONTEMPLATING AGAINST SMITH, WE SUGGEST
WE TALK NOT IN TERMS OF ACTION THAT WILL REMOVE SMITH
WHICH WE DOUBT WE CAN ASSURE BUT RATHER OF ACTION THAT
WILL HURT SMITH SUFFICIENTLY TO OFFSET THE VERY REAL
RISK THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THINKS IT INCURS BY ENTERING
INTO SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. IF
WE CAN PERSUADE MACHEL THAT EVEN IF OUR ACTION FAILS TO
REMOVE SMITH THERE WILL BE TANGIBLE ADVANTAGES FROM
COOPERATING WITH US, HE WILL HAVE AN INCENTIVE FOR
CONTINUING TO COOPERATE WITH US.
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